



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

VI.—PARKE GODWIN AND THE TRANSLATION OF ZSCHOKKE'S TALES.¹

Within the last decade students of German in America have been brought to a fuller consciousness of the great debt which American culture owes to the German Fatherland. On this side of the water the *Americana Germanica* and its successor, the *German American Annals*, edited by Prof. Learned, have not only thrown much light on the linguistic, literary and cultural relations of the two countries in the past, but have also served as a stimulus in calling the attention of scholars to many points of contact hitherto overlooked. On the other side of the ocean, Ludwig Viereck, in his book *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten*, has given German scholars a clear historical account of the part which German instruction has played and is still playing in American education.

In the light of these efforts to trace the various channels through which German influence has flowed into American life, it may not be amiss here to call attention to the less ambitious, though, measured by its popular influence, by no means unimportant work of translation; and in a brief sketch to recall the modest services of a man who was one of the first to be inspired by German idealism and one of the pioneers in making German literature known in America and appreciated by the American public. I refer to the late Parke

¹The author desires here to express his obligations to Mr. William Warner Bishop, of the Princeton University Library, for his invaluable services in securing access to the files of rare magazines; to Mr. Geo. Haven Putnam, of New York, for his kindness in lending the author a copy of the original *Zschokke Tales*, now a very rare book; and to Mr. Wm. P. Prentice, of New York, one of the *Zschokke* translators, for his reminiscences of Parke Godwin and the first edition of *Zschokke Tales*.

Godwin, best known through his connection with the *Evening Post*, and for almost three-quarters of a century one of the most familiar figures in the literary, artistic, and social life of New York City.

When and where Godwin first began the study of German I have not been able to ascertain with certainty. The fact that his mother was Dutch may have given him an hereditary predilection for things Teutonic. He spent his youth in his native place, Paterson, N. J. Here, as well as after his college course, while studying law in St. Louis, he may have come in contact with German settlers. But the fact that he could never speak German seems to preclude the probability that his interest in German literature could have been awakened in either of these places. More probable—but still uncertain—is the supposition that he began the study of German while in college. Godwin was a member of the Princeton class of 1834. From 1832 to 1842 an Austrian, Benedict Jaeger, performed a threefold function in Princeton, as professor of Natural History, German, and Italian. Of course modern languages were not a part of the curriculum at this time. But they were taught at hours outside the regular schedule, without extra charge, to those students who desired them. It is, therefore, not impossible that Godwin began the study of German during his student days.

But whether his interest in German was aroused at this time or after 1837, when he settled permanently in New York, his translations were really a part of that wave of German influence which about 1840, as Learned has shown (*Pädagog. Monatsheft*, February, 1901), became the leading and in some respects the transforming force in American culture. This German influence, it will be recalled, manifested itself not only in the reform, after the Prussian model, of the common school system in Ohio by Calvin O. Stowe,

and in Massachusetts by Horace Mann; in the establishment of a university on the German plan—the University of Michigan in 1837; but it also became for a decade or more the chief factor in philosophy and letters. Kant's idealism was the dominant element in the thinking of Emerson, Parker, Hedge, and the other so-called transcendentalists; while Longfellow and that group of idealists gathered at Brook Farm not only paid homage to transcendental philosophy, but drew their literary inspiration largely from German sources. It is this little group of idealists known as the Brook Farmers that forms the link between the new philosophical and literary movement about Boston and the translations of Parke Godwin.

In his political views Godwin was an enthusiastic advocate of free trade and had strong sympathies with the ideas of voluntary association advocated by Fourier. He was thus led to take part with Ripley, Emerson, Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, and George William Curtis in the socialistic experiment to realize the ideals of equality and fraternity at Brook Farm. He was never a member of the community, but helped earnestly from the outside. He it was who wrote the first address on behalf of the "Association" and edited its official organ, *The Harbinger*, after it was removed to New York in 1847. His first book too was *A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier* (1844).

The platform of the Brook Farm reformers contained, concretely stated, three propositions:—In philosophy it aimed to introduce a current of thought which would lift men above the reiteration, in varied forms, of accepted dogmas or creeds and, in the language of the *Dial* (vol. I, 1840), be a "cheerful rationalistic voice amid the din of mourners and polemics." In its scheme of social reform its purpose was to furnish an example of a self-supporting community living

according to its ideal of equality and fraternity among men. And finally, in behalf of popular culture, its aim was to bring a knowledge of art and literature to a people which for a century and a half had been æsthetically starved.

As far as the origin of these propositions is concerned, its scheme of social reform was mostly French, while in its philosophical and literary aspect it received its inspiration from German sources. The *Dial*, in its opening number, points to that "current of thought and feeling which [emanating from Germany] had led many . . . in New England to make new demands upon literature." And in an article on German literature in the same periodical (January, 1841) Parker characterizes it as "the fairest, the richest, the most original, fresh and religious literature of all modern times." He predicts the happiest results from a knowledge of it, "the diligence which shuns superficial study, the boldness which looks for the causes of things and the desire to fall back on what alone is elementary and eternal in criticism and philosophy;" while the translator of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* writes in the *Democratic Review* (September, 1848): "Many have felt that the strong Teutonic intellect and its rich and varied productions have hitherto been too imperfectly known and appreciated among us, that indeed any adequate knowledge of them has been confined to a circle quite too narrow and exclusive; and consequently, that one of the most original, thoughtful and indefatigable of the European races has not exercised its due influence upon our minds;" and he concludes this paragraph with the words: "It is certain that no book or author can exert a wide and pervading influence until translated into the living language of the people by whom it is read."

This group of idealists was convinced, as Ticknor had been before them, that if they could bring the American public into contact with translations of good literature, the

general taste for reading would grow and the general intelligence and consequent civilization improve. They would begin "by translation," as one of the contributors to the *Dial* writes, and then pass on to "original creation as other nations had done," or, as Ripley says in his introduction to *Specimens of Foreign Literature*: "In this enterprise of a very unambitious character the editors are content with the humble task of representing the views of other minds if thereby they may give fresh impulses to thought, enlarge the treasures of our youthful literature or contribute to a small degree to the gratification of a liberal curiosity."

The members of the Brook Farm Association were not the first to translate works from the German, for, as we shall see in the case of Zschokke, translations were made independent of this movement. Ever since the days when Carlyle and Coleridge began to preach German metaphysics and romanticism in England, and American students (*circa* 1820) such as Everett, Bancroft, and Motley began to attend German Universities, scattering translations from the German had appeared in the British and American magazines. Here and there, too, English translations of longer works had been republished in America. But it was nevertheless the Brook Farm movement which let in the full tide of German influence into American life.

Before 1830 the interest in German may be characterized as sporadic.¹ A number of translations appear in this country, mostly as American editions of English publications. They deal with different subjects, and in most cases serve other than purely literary purposes.² As early as 1820 Otto von

¹ For translations from the German previous to 1825, see Frederick H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America*, in *Americana Germanica*, 1899-1900, pp. 103-205.

² For publications up to 1840 the author has followed mainly the quarterly announcements of new books in the *North American Review* and Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana: American Publications between 1820 and 1852*.

Kotzebue's *Journey into Persia* was published in Philadelphia. Scholarly interest accounts for Bancroft's translation of some of Heeren's *Historical Works* in 1824 and 1828 (North Hampton and New York); and religious interests for the appearance of the sacred drama, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, translated from the German (Boston, 1826), and Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe's *Prayer Book* (1827), a Roman Catholic work, which appeared the next year.

Translations from the German also helped to meet the demand for juvenile reading before 1830. Fouqué's *Undine* was published in Philadelphia in 1824,¹ and from the number of times it was repeated I conclude that it was one of the most popular German translations in America about 1840. From a book notice (*North American Review*, 1839) of a new translation of this story we learn that it was already well known, and the Rev. Thomas Tracy, the translator of this story together with *Sintram and his Companions* (New York, 1845), tells us that it was then being printed for the fifth time. This statement, combined with the fact that it was copyrighted this year, probably to prevent pirating, points to a wide circulation. In the same line of juvenile literature an English version of Grimm's *Popular Stories* appeared in Boston in 1826, to be repeated two years later; and faint echoes of Joachim Heinrich Campe's theories of pedagogical reform reached America in Elizabeth Helmes's (English) translations of his *Columbus* and *Pizarro*,² which were published in the same city in 1829.

In the domain of pure literature we may mention Fouqué's

¹According to Wilkens (p. 142), two editions were published this same year, and also Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*.

²Wilkens (p. 184) cites Campe's *New Robinson Crusoe* before 1803. He thinks the *Columbus*, *Cortez* and *Pizarro* were republished in America before 1826. The date here, 1829, is taken from the *North American Review*, October, 1829. These may be new editions.

Minstrel Love,¹ an English version of which was put upon the market in 1824; M. G. Lewis's (English) translation of Zschokke's romance *Abellino* (Boston, 1826); and James S. Knowles's adaptation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, which was published the same year (1826) in New York, in connection with the performance of that play at the Park Theatre. Toward the end of this decade (1829) two *German Tales* probably of a juvenile character, entitled *Honig's Owl Tower* and *Mary's Journey*, also appeared in Boston, but whether these were actual translations or original productions whose scene was laid in Germany, the announcement does not state. In conclusion it is worthy of note that the *North American Review* for 1823 contains articles on Grillparzer's *Das Goldene Fliess* with a translation of some passages, and on Schiller's life² (April, 1823) and minor poems (October, 1823); while the German edition of Herder's complete works is reviewed³ and two of his minor poems are translated in the same journal for January, 1825.

Between 1830 and 1839, the year in which John S. Dwight's *Select Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller* and Margaret Fuller's *Translations of Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe* appeared as vols. 3 and 4 of Ripley's *Specimens of Foreign Literature*, the increasing number of translations of literary works bears witness to the growing interest in German Literature. This result was due, at least in part, to Professor Charles Follen's activity at Harvard, but Calvert's work in Baltimore during this decade is also worthy of mention, and the half dozen German grammars, readers, and dictionaries which were published during these years in Boston, Andover, and Philadelphia show that the desire to learn German was not confined to a single locality.

¹ In 1822 a reprint of the London translation by George Soane was published in New York. Wilkens, p. 142 (No. 173, in Appendix).

² Attributed to A. H. Everett.

³ Attributed to Bancroft.

Omitting minor poems published in magazines, and passing over such works as Johann von Müller's *Universal History* (1832), Pückler-Muskau's *Tutti-Frutti* (1834), F. V. Reinhard's *Memoirs and Confessions* (1832), and a book of German Parables (1834), all of which were American editions of translations made in England and owed their publication to other than literary interests, I find during this period some dozen other translations from Herder, Goethe, Schiller, A. W. Schlegel, Tieck, Zschokke, Heine, and others, done in part by Americans.

Reserving the five or six Zschokke tales for separate consideration, the year 1833 brought an American edition of Black's (English) translation of A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (Philadelphia) and of Smith's (English) version of Tieck's tale, *The Lover of Nature*. Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* was translated by James Marsh and published in Burlington, Vermont, in 1834-35. From Goethe I have discovered only one work, *Götz von Berlichingen*¹ (Philadelphia, 1837), but Schiller, as one would naturally expect, received particular attention. In 1833 Carlyle's (?) *Life of Schiller*, with a preface by Follen, was published in Boston; two years later the *Diver* appeared in the *Democratic Review*; in 1837 his *Song of The Bell* was translated by S. A. Eliot for the Boston Academy of Music, and *Wallenstein's Camp* by George E. Moir, with a memoir of Albert Wallenstein by G. W. Havens, appeared in the same city. The year 1837 also witnessed the appearance of *Wilhelm Tell*, translated by C. T. Brooks, in Providence, R. I. In Baltimore, Calvert published in 1836 a *Lecture on German Literature* (being a sketch of its history from its origin to the present day) and the announcement of this publication in the *North American Review* (October, 1836) informs us that he had already translated two acts of *Don Carlos*. G.

¹ Probably Walter Scott's translation. See Wilkens, p. 135.

W. Havens's English translation of Heine's *Letters Auxiliary to the History of Modern Polite Literature in Germany* was republished in Boston in 1836; and of a miscellaneous character we may mention *Henry, or the Pilgrim Hat on the Wessenstein*, translated by a clergyman (1835), and two publications by Herman Bokum, German Instructor at Harvard: *The Chime of the Bells* from the German of Frederick Strause (Boston, 1836) and *The German Wreath, or Translations in Poetry and Prose from Celebrated Writers, with Biographical and Explanatory Notes*. The last noteworthy book before 1839 was Nathaniel Greene's *Tales from the German*, in two volumes, containing Van der Velde's *Arwed Gyllenstierna*, *The Lichtensteins*, *The Anabaptist*, and *The Sorceress* (Boston, 1838).

By 1840 translations from the German had become quite the literary fashion. A reviewer of Mrs. Jameson's *Dramas of Princess Amelia* in the *North American Review* (April, 1841) makes the statement: "It cannot be denied that German Literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of Europe and America. We may lament over this fact or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street, it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary periodical. All the sciences own the power of that influence, on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly, etc."

When we recall that the *Dial* began in 1840 to make open propaganda for German philosophy and German literature; that Ripley's *Specimens* contain, besides the works already mentioned, Felton's translation of Menzel's *History of German Literature* (Boston, 1840) and C. T. Brooks's *Songs and Ballads from Uhland, Körner, Bürger and Other Lyric Poets* (1842); that Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* (Philadelphia, 1845) and Longfellow's *Poets and*

Poetry of Europe (Philadelphia, 1845) all emanated from transcendentalists about Boston ; we cannot doubt that it was the Brook Farm movement which gave the strongest impulse to the study of German literature and laid the broad foundation for a popular appreciation of German prose and poetry. But nevertheless the interest in German was not confined to Boston alone. While Philadelphia had always been a centre for the publication of translations from the German, owing probably to the large German population in Pennsylvania, it is worthy of note that at this time the most prominent translator in that city, Rev. W. H. Furness, a Harvard graduate, was pastor of the First Unitarian Church and must have kept in intimate touch with the transcendental movement about Boston. This may possibly have had something to do with the publication of Longfellow's and Hedge's comprehensive works in the Quaker City.

New York, which previous to 1840 had had little share in the publication of translations from the German, through the efforts of Godwin and other Brook Farm sympathizers now followed the general fashion. All her leading publishers after 1840 put English versions of German works on the market in rapid succession. But the movement spread still further. Longer poems, short stories, and articles on German life and literature appear frequently in the Southern periodicals. As early as 1835 the *Democratic Review* (Washington, D. C.) began to publish short poems from the German, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.) for 1843, besides two of Zschokke's tales, contains stories from the German translated by a "Lady of Virginia" and a Jane Tayloe W—— of Chillicothe, Ohio, showing that the new literary movement had attained wide geographic extent. The frequent translation of German prose and poetry in the Southern periodicals raises the question also whether Dr. Blättermann's activity as professor of German at the Uni-

versity of Virginia between 1825 and 1840 may not have had some share in creating this widespread interest in German literature.

In fact, my researches, as yet by no means exhaustive, lead me to the belief that more translations of German literary works, from a wider range of authors, were published between the years 1840 and 1850 than in any other decade of our history. It seems that almost every German author mentioned in Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe* and Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* now found a special translator. Of the older writers, I find Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti* as well as Moses Mendelssohn's *Phaëdon*, in the *Democratic Review* for 1848 and 1849. Herder's *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* translated by Thomas Churchill was reprinted in New York (1841), and at least a portion of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* was done into English by G. Henry Lodge (Boston, 1849).

Of Goethe's works I have noted: the first American edition of Hayward's prose translation of *Faust* (Lowell, 1840), repeated in Boston (1851); *Egmont* (Boston, 1841); a reissue of the wretched *Memoirs of Goethe* (New York, 1844) which had appeared in New York first in 1825; Ward's translation of the *Essays on Art* (1845); the *Autobiography* by Parke Godwin (New York, 1846); *Hermann und Dorothea*¹ (*Democratic Review*, 1848); *Alexis and Dora* (*Democratic Review*, 1849); the first three acts of *Iphigenia in Tauris* (*Democratic Review*, 1849); G. J. Adler's complete translation of the same (New York, 1851); and, cited by Roorbach before 1852, *The Sorrows of Werther*² (Ithaca, New York) and *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*³

¹A reprint of Holcroft's (London) translation was printed and published in Richmond in 1805. Wilkens, p. 147 (No. 108).

²Four editions of this before 1810, cited by Wilkens, p. 136, note.

³Carlyle's probably.

(Boston); not to mention numerous shorter poems, which were published in almost all the periodicals of the time.

Judged by the number of translations, Schiller is again, as in the previous decade, the most popular of the German poets. The *Democratic Review* for 1839 contains translations of his *Ideal* and *Diver*, by the author of *Pocahontas*. The same year Mrs. Ellet published her *Characters of Schiller* (Boston) with translations, and this book went through a second edition in 1842. The years 1840, 1841 and 1843 brought respectively William Peter's (English) translation of *Wilhelm Tell and Other Poems* (Philadelphia), *Mary Stuart*¹ (Philadelphia, 1841) and the *Maid of Orleans*¹ (Cambridge, 1843). *Cassandra* appeared in the *Democratic Review* for 1843; and the next year saw Bulwer's *Life, with the Ballads and Poems* (New York), *The Fight with the Dragon* (*Democratic Review*) and *The Ghost-Seer*² (New York Sun Office). In 1845 Calvert published his translation of the *Schiller-Goethe Correspondence*, and J. Weiss, *The Aesthetic Letters, Essays, and Philosophic Letters* (Boston and London, 1845), while the *Democratic Review* for this same year (January, 1845) offered the *Song of The Bell*. Morrison's version of the *Revolt of the Netherlands* (New York, 1846) and a new edition of Carlyle's *Life* (New York, 1846) followed in the next year; and in 1847, C. T. Brooks's *Homage of the Arts, with Miscellaneous Pieces from Rückert, Freiligrath and Other German Poets* (Boston); while the *History of the Thirty Years' War* translated by A. J. W. Morrison (New York) closes the list in 1847. If we add to this countless repetitions of his minor poems in the magazines, we realize that Schiller outranks his greater contemporary in popular favor.

In passing to the Romantic School, H. Gates translated

¹ By C. T. Brooks.

² Wilkens (p. 137) cites two translations of this tale in America before 1803.

Bürger's *Song of the Gallant Man* (*Democratic Review*, 1842); and according to Allibone (*Dictionary of Authors*) C. T. Brooks, Richter's *Titan*, about 1840. The same author's *Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death* appeared in Boston in 1841, and Eliza B. Lea published a *Life of Jean Paul Richter with his Autobiography translated* (Boston, 1842) and *Walt and Vult, or The Twins* (in the same city four years later). Noel was responsible for *Flower, Fruit and Thorn . . . or the History of Siebenkäs* (Boston, 1845); and if we add an article on Richter by Calvert in the *New York Review* some time before 1848, we realize that Jean Paul, too, must have been a popular favorite.

The productions of the Romantic School proper also enjoyed a wide circulation, both as separate publications and as magazine articles. A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1833) we have already mentioned. Friedrich Schlegel's *Lectures on the History of Literature*—probably Lockhart's translation—(New York)¹ and his *Philosophy of History*, translated by J. B. Robertson (Philadelphia, 1841²) both appeared in 1841, to be followed six years later by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison's translation of his *Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language* (New York, 1847).

The *Democratic Review* for 1845 contained Tieck's *The Friends* and the *Klausenburg*, the latter an adaptation by Mrs. E. F. Ellet, while *Puss in Boots*, with the illustrations of Otto Speckler, was published in New York in 1841. Novalis's *Henry of Ofterdingen*, with Weiss's translation of the poetry, appeared in Cambridge in 1842; and the London translation of his *Christianity or Europe* (1844) was familiar

¹ Published first in Philadelphia, as a reprint of the Edinburgh edition, in 1818. Wilkens, No. 166.

² The fourth edition appeared in 1845.

to theologians on this side of the ocean. The *Democratic Review* published Brentano's *The Three Nuts* (May, 1849), translated by Mrs. St. Simons; E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Astrologer's Tower* (March, 1845), translated by Mrs. Ellet, and *The Faro Table* (June, 1845); Hauff's *Sheik of Alexandria* (1845), translated by S. Gardiner Spring, Jr.; Johanna Schopenhauer's *The Favorite* (May, 1846), translated by Nathaniel Greene; and Auerbach's *The Professor's Lady* (July, 1850), translated by Mary Howitt; while parts of Hauff's *Lichtenstein* were translated in the *Southern Quarterly Review* for 1845 and his *True Lovers' Fortune, or the Beggar Girl of the Pont des Arts* appeared separately in Boston in 1842, and the *American Review* (August, 1846) contained Lyser's *Julietta*, by Mrs. St. Simons, and Auerbach's *A Battle for Life and Death* (March, 1849).

If we add now titles like Heinrich Stilling's *Theobald the Fanatic*¹ (Philadelphia, 1846), Stolle's *The Birthday Tree*, translated by Mary L. Plumb (*Democratic Review*, 1839), Spindler's *The Jew* (New York, 1844), Stiefter's *The Condor* (*Democratic Review*, 1850); stories of anonymous authorship like *Christmas Eve* (Boston, 1841), *Günderode* (Boston, 1842),² *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch* (London and New York, 1844),³ and at least seven others that I have counted in the pages of the *Democratic Review* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*; collections like Mrs. Follen's *Gammer Grethel, or German Fairy Tales* (Boston, 1840), *Little Stories from the German* (Boston, 1841), *Miniature Romances from the German* (Boston, 1841), *Tales and Sketches from the French and German* (Boston, 1843) by Nathaniel Greene, *Remarkable Visions* (Boston, 1844), a tale of somnambulism, Schmid's *Interesting Stories, Chiefly in Illustration of Providence* (Boston, 1841),

¹ H. J. Stilling's *Scenes in the World of Spirits* was translated by Gottlieb Shoher in Salem, N. C., about 1815. Wilkens, No. 163.

² Translated by Margaret Fuller.

³ Dr. Meinhold's.

Sacred Allegories (Boston, 1841), and vol. 1 of Sara Austin's *Fragments of German Prose Writers* (New York, 1842); short poems in the periodicals from Arndt, Claudius, Freiligrath, Heine, Herwegh, Körner, Mahlmann, Matthiesson, Müller, Novalis, Smets, and Uhland; miscellaneous works like von Raumer's *America and the American People* (New York, 1846), F. Gerstaecker's *Wanderings and Fortunes of Some German Emigrants* (New York, 1848), Lavater on *Physiognomy*¹ (Hartford, before 1852), and a book on *Student Life in Germany* (Philadelphia, 1842) with about forty of the most famous songs; and finally magazine articles on actors like Devrient and his wife (*Democratic Review*, 1845) and on musicians like Gluck (*Democratic Review*, 1846), Händel (*American Review*, February, 1849), Haydn (*Democratic Review*, 1846), Beethoven (*American Review*, June, 1846), and Mozart (*Democratic Review*, 1847)—we gain some conception of the wide range as well as the popularity of translation from the German at this period. And when we remember that there was no international copyright law, and uncopyrighted translations in the periodicals could be repeated without let or hindrance in weeklies and dailies, the wide publicity given to German literary works is really surprising.

During this period no German writer was more popular than Heinrich Zschokke. In an article on German novelists in the *Southern Quarterly Review* the writer tells us that "no German author of fiction had been so extensively translated;" and a writer in the *Democratic Review* (July, 1845), in all probability Godwin himself, for he was a frequent contributor to this magazine, in a sketch entitled *The Life and Writings of Heinrich Zschokke*, makes the statement: "Hardly a day passes that we do not see in one periodical

¹According to Wilkens (p. 149) an abridged edition of Holcroft's (English) translation was published in Boston not later than 1803.

or another a selection from the almost inexhaustible source which Zschokke supplies."

The reasons for Zschokke's popularity are not far to seek. This teacher, lecturer, dramatist, poet, historian, traveler, diplomatist, stadtholder, newspaper editor, popular instructor, and above all social reformer and philosopher enjoyed a popularity at home which had never been equaled by any previous German author. This is clear from the fact that his *Ausgewählte Dichtungen, Erzählungen und Novellen* ran through nine editions up to 1851, and his *Gesammelte Schriften*, first published between 1851 and 1854, lived through a second edition in 1865, not to mention the frequent reprints of individual publications.

Moreover we learn from his autobiography (*Selbstschau*, Aarau, 1842) that he was already known and read by the Germans in America. Wm. Radde, a New York publisher of German books who flourished about 1850, found it profitable to publish some of the Aarau editions here in America. The Library of Congress possesses a copy of the seventh edition of his *Novellen und Dichtungen* (Aarau and New York). If this corresponds to the seventh Swiss edition, the date would be 1845, and in the same library there is also to be found a copy of the "11te Vermehrte Ausgabe in Commission bei Wm. Radde," with the date 1859. Besides these, the Catalogue of American Publications of 1876 cites—alas! without date—a paper edition of his *Werke* in forty-six volumes at ten and twenty cents per number, by F. W. Thomas in Philadelphia, and a three-volume edition of his *Novellen und Dichtungen*, likewise without date, was published by the same house. These different editions show that Zschokke was well known as a "Volksdichter" by the Germans in America and must have enjoyed a wide popularity. His strong democratic sympathies, his indirect criticisms of social conditions in Germany, and his tolerant

religious views were all sure to find a cordial response in the heart of those Germans who had quitted the fatherland as sufferers from social or religious oppression.

Moreover Zschokke had been long favorably known to both English and Americans as a historian. His *History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French* appeared in an English version in London as early as 1803, and his *Popular History of Switzerland* (original edition, Aarau, 1822), first translated by an Englishman in 1833, was a popular book in America, being either reprinted or republished as early as 1834, and running through two more editions in 1855 and 1875 (New York).

But most of all, perhaps, Zschokke's *Religious Meditations* paved the way for a ready acceptance of his literary productions. The years 1830-1860 were probably the most religious in our history. Eighteenth century rationalism had spent its force, the higher criticism had not yet appeared to cast doubt on the inspired Word of God, evolution was hardly born, and the scientific spirit had made little or no headway. The pulpit still dominated the thinking and feeling of the middle classes. When we recall the opposition which transcendentalism met with both within and outside of New England, Bancroft's criticism of Goethe for his irreligion and immorality, and the misgivings with which the works of the great poet were received by the orthodox everywhere, the advantage enjoyed by a thoroughly Christian believer in gaining public approbation is at once apparent, though that believer, as Godwin says, "passed from the dark and tempestuous abyss in which he floated into the serene heaven of living faith—not through the gate way of a wretched logic, but along the long and beautiful road of actual work."

Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* (1809-1816) ran through twenty-nine editions in Germany up to 1852. In 1835 a

second American edition, *Hours of Devotion*, translated by Morris Mattson, was published in Philadelphia. The translator omits the name of the author, but the fact that his version was made from the 13th German edition leaves us no room to doubt that it was Zschokke. The book was translated once more in London by Burrows in 1838, and again by J. D. Haas in 1843. The Haas edition, under the title *Hours of Meditation and Reflection* was republished by Redfield in New York (1844). To this was added Zschokke's *Thoughts on the Religious, Moral and Social Duties of Life*, by the same publisher in the same year, and the popularity of these books of devotion among the middle classes caused them to reappear under varying titles until the year 1863.

However glaring his deficiencies as a writer, however humble the place that must be assigned him in the German literary hierarchy, Zschokke, nevertheless, from the point of view of the social forces then at work both in Germany and America, possessed those qualities which were bound to make him a power in the struggle for the elevation of the masses. The man who had made the native land of Rousseau and Pestalozzi the scene of his multifarious activity could hardly fail to become a social and political reformer. In Germany his significance lies in the fact that his works gave voice to the discontent at the frivolity and the worthlessness of the ruling aristocracy, and made a plea, on behalf of the people, for a share in the government. Though never radical in tone, they are none the less manifestations of that democratic movement in Germany which culminated in the popular uprisings of 1848.

In America his strong democratic sympathies, his religious orthodoxy, the fact that the purpose of his writing was to produce healthier reading for the public and often to teach some lesson in social ethics, made his works admirable instruments in the hands of those who were eager to

improve the tone of culture among the people. Though he had no literary or æsthetic mission to fulfil and lacked both the sustaining power of imagination and deep emotional draught, his simple and natural style, combined with the qualities of easy sentimentality and folk-humour, was such as to secure for his tales a far greater popularity than was won by works of a much more enduring character. It was therefore most natural that his writing should take a strong hold on such men as Godwin and other advocates of social and political regeneration.

The first American version (and probably also the first translation into English) of any of Zschokke's works takes us back to the year 1800.¹ In his history of the American stage (New York, 1834) Wm. Dunlap, manager of the Park Theatre, tells us that, without knowing until years afterwards who the author was, he translated from the German and adapted to the New York Theatre *Abaellino, the Great Bandit, a grand Dramatic Romance in Five Acts*. This rather lurid melodrama of blood and braggadocio, which is not to be confused with the Zschokke romance of the year previous bearing the same title, was written in 1795, and belongs to Zschokke's period of Storm and Stress. In the words of the author's autobiography, "It flew on the wings of the press into almost all the theatres of Germany." He might have said more, for it was translated into almost all European languages—French, Spanish, Danish, Polish, and, under various disguises, was brought forward on most of the European stages. The play was performed, as the translator says, for the first time in the English language on February 11, 1801, and was a success. Dunlap's comment is interesting. He remarks: "Never was a play more successful or a successful play less productive to its author or translator."

¹ See Wilkens, in the article cited above, pp. 119, 128 and 130 (note).

Abellino must have kept the boards for almost a quarter of a century. The only copy that I have yet discovered is a little 16mo exemplar of the fourth edition preserved in the Lenox library in New York, which was published by Thomas Longworth at the dramatic repository, Shakespeare Gallery, New York, January, 1820. The names of the actors with their respective *rôles* are printed on the first page, showing that the play must have been performed that winter.¹ In conclusion, it is worth noting that this play² also found its way into English through the French. In the catalogue of the British Museum three editions of such a translation are recorded for the years 1805, 1806, and 1820.

Turning now to the history of the Zschokke *Tales* in America, it would be a wellnigh impossible task to trace them through all their manifold repetitions and adaptations. They were published mostly in periodicals of a popular character, and it is exactly periodicals of this kind which are least likely to be preserved in complete sets and are almost never properly indexed. Further difficulty arises from the fact that the same tale is sometimes published under different titles. At times even the fact that it is a translation from the German is not mentioned. Nevertheless the data that I have been able to gather from many different sources will serve to demonstrate the popularity of this prolific writer and show how his stories passed from one magazine to another.

The first Zschokke translations to reach America came by

¹Since completing this article, the author has discovered a copy of the 2nd edition, 1807; of the 3rd edition, 1814; and a second copy of the 4th edition, 1820, in the C. Fiske Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, Brown University Library.

²According to a note of Wilkens (p. 120) this adaptation was made by R. W. Elliston for the English stage and reprinted in New York in 1806. See Wilkens, No. 146, for Lewis's dramatization of this same play under the title, *Rugantino; or the Bravo of Venice*. Reprinted in New York, 1810.

way of England. We have already mentioned M. G. Lewis's (English) translation of the romance *Abellino*,¹ made in 1805. This bandit story, like the drama which was based on it a genuine "blood and thunder" production, ran through six editions in England up to 1809, and continued to be republished there until 1857. In 1809 an American edition of this English one was published in Baltimore and Boston, a second in 1826, and a third in 1844, showing that the book must have had a considerable sale on this side of the Atlantic.

In 1833 a Miss M. Montgomery published a book in London and Philadelphia entitled *Lights and Shadows of German Life* (Philadelphia, 1833). This book contained three Zschokke translations: *The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace*, *The Fugitive of the Jura* (sometimes known as *Florian*), and *It is very Possible!* This Miss Montgomery, who afterwards gained some reputation as a novelist,² was a Welsh lady and the wife of Baron Tautphoeus, Chamberlain to the King of Bavaria. With her literary tastes, she no doubt was familiar with Zschokke's *Tales* in Germany, and took advantage of the growing interest in things German to give the English-speaking world some specimens of popular German literary workmanship.

One of these stories, *Florian or the Fugitive of the Jura*, was translated again ten years later by L. Strack and incorporated into his *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps* (New York, 1844). Both Miss Montgomery's and Strack's books were no doubt inspired by Zschokke's collection of three tales entitled *Bilder aus der Schweiz* (Aarau, 1824-26). The frequent translation of the same story by different authors is one of the common discoveries in tracing

¹ See Wilkens (p. 140) for an account of this story. Reprinted in Baltimore, 1809 (Wilkens, No. 138), and Boston, 1809 (Wilkens, No. 139).

² She is the author of the *Initials* (1850), *Cyrilla* (1853), *Quits* (1857), and *At Odds* (1863). Two of these novels were published in London and Philadelphia the same year.

the history of Zschokke's *Tales*, and bears further witness to the hold which he had upon the public.

Three years later, in 1836, *The Creole* (*Der Creole*, Aarau, 1830), one of the least significant of Zschokke's *Tales*, was published by W. H. Colyer in New York. Roorbach (*Bib. Amer.*) cites this book, but does not name the translator. As I have been unable to find any trace of this work elsewhere, I cannot say whether it is an American translation or the reissue of an English edition.

The *Metropolitan Magazine*, a London publication with an American edition in New York, for July, 1838, contains Zschokke's tale, *The Bean*, without even vouchsafing the information that the tale is from the German. This story was again published in *The Journal of a Poor Vicar, Walpurgis Night and other Stories from the German* (Philadelphia, 1845),¹ and this collection was apparently repeated in London in 1856.

The next translation brings us to the year 1840 and the American periodicals of the day. The *Democratic Review* of this year contains the story, *Who governs then? a tale of the court of Louis XV.* This story, according to an article on Zschokke in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1845), was published in that periodical sometime before 1845, and the frequent appearance of a story in America in one year and in a British magazine the next, or *vice versa*, lends color to the presumption that these were one and the same translation. Who the translator was, is not stated in the *Democratic Review*, but there are some reasons for thinking that it was Godwin, not on the basis of higher text criticism, but from the fact that the subject of this story is one which would strongly appeal to an enthusiastic advocate of social and political reform.

The theme of the tale is the unsatisfactory position in

¹ Probably translated by the Rev. W. H. Furness.

which all rights and all duties stand in a country whose inhabitants are not protected by a free constitution. When we remember that Godwin was an abolitionist and as a member of the Free Soil Convention in 1848, wrote the brief resolution which proclaimed freedom as the sole object of rational government, the attraction which the topic of this story would have had for him is at once apparent. At any rate we are certain that he translated *The Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, a tale of similar import, for the same *Democratic Review* two years later, and this story, together with *The Sleep-Waker* (Boston, 1842), led up to Godwin's collection of Zschokke's *Tales* which appeared in New York in 1845.

About the year 1840 the firm of Wiley & Putnam, after the fashion of the time, decided to publish a "Library of Choice Reading." E. A. Duykinck was the supervising editor. German literary productions were then the fashion, and Duykinck, who of course knew of Godwin's translations, chose the latter to prepare a collection of Zschokke's tales for the "Library." We may observe in passing that the English translation of *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch* (1844) and Godwin's translation of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1846) were also published in this serial.

In the Introduction to Zschokke's *Tales*, Godwin tells us that he "is rather the editor than the translator of these tales, that several of the stories were furnished by friends whose names or initials are attached to the respective translations, and that two others were taken from magazines or newspapers. The account of Zschokke's *Life and Works* in the *Democratic Review* (July, 1845) further informs us that his chief co-translators were Christopher Pearse Cranch, his own wife (Fanny Bryant Godwin), and Gustav C. Hebbe. The collection in its two parts contains ten stories fairly representative of all phases—historical, satirical, mystical, humorous, and moral—of Zschokke's genius.

In the first two stories selected we at once recognize the atmosphere of Brook Farm. *The Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, which Godwin had already published in the *Democratic Review* (1842), reappears with very slight revision. The story tells us how a peasant community, reduced through misgovernment to the depths of poverty and wretchedness, was socially regenerated within the space of five years. While Zschokke at the end does not fail to shrewdly warn the reformer not to make himself too conspicuous by trying to be different from other people, he apparently had never heard of Carlyle's wise dictum: "If you want to reform a man, you must begin with his grandmother." However, the story harmonizes with the idealistic point of view, and must have been popular, as I find it again in Strack's *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps* already mentioned.

The second story, *Harmonius*, is from the pen of Christopher Pearse Cranch; I imagine this was the only time that it was ever translated and published, for it is too visionary and mystical to suit the average reader. To a very slender thread of incident surcharged with sentimentality, Harmonius, the aged philosopher, attaches a discourse which contains elements of Pythagoras's doctrine of the transmigration of souls, Rousseau's "return to nature" dictum, Fichte's theory of the finite, and Goethe's elective affinities. Cranch, it will be recalled, was a frequent visitor at Brook Farm and subsequently became an artist. In 1844 he published a volume of transcendental poetry. The reviewer of this book in the *Southern Quarterly Review* (July, 1844) remarks: "German is a good thing—the language, the literature and to some extent the philosophy—but it has sadly addled some weak minds in and about the precincts of Boston." However, when Cranch died in 1892, Curtis wrote, "He was of that choice band who are always true to the ideals of youth, and whose hearts are the citadels which conquering time assails in vain."

To the social and philosophical character of the first two stories *Jack Steam* stands in striking contrast. It may be defined as an extravaganza in folk-humor, satirizing the narrowness and pedantry of the citizen in small towns and the frivolity of court life in the duodecimo principality. I conjecture from its character that this is the story which Godwin took from a newspaper. I have not discovered it elsewhere, and hardly think that it can come from Godwin's pen, for it is literally honeycombed with inaccuracies and mistranslations. Coming from so many different sources, the versions of these stories naturally differ widely in quality. On the whole, however, it may be said that the Brook Farmers are not model translators. Their inability to speak German has caused them to miss the real import of many idiomatic expressions. On the other hand, they were men of decided literary taste, and in the majority of cases they give us a good story in good English, although their works cannot always pass as faithful reproductions of the original.

Jack Steam is followed by that charming historic idyll, *Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV.* This story touches on the evil consequences of social inequality, one of Zschokke's favorite themes. It portrays in the simplest manner the love affair of Henry IV with a gardener's daughter and its fatal consequences to the latter. It is to be regretted that Godwin did not republish this story when he edited a second edition of the *Tales* in 1889. This translation, I conclude, is by Godwin himself, although another version of it by G. F. Struve had appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1843. A careful comparison has failed to reveal any connection between the two. In 1846 this story appeared again in vol. 10 of the *Parlor Novelist*, a Belfast (Ireland) serial which was published in 1846-47.

The last story in Part I is the *Adventures of a New Year's*

Eve,¹ the tale which perhaps will prove the most enduring of the Zschokke productions. Godwin did not translate this, but took it from *Blackwood's Magazine* of May, 1837. The English translator shows a decided tendency to lapse into elegance of diction, which is relieved, in the scenes between the police and night watchmen, by a dash of 'cockney.' Godwin has removed the latter and brought the whole nearer to the simplicity and directness of the original. From the article on Zschokke in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1845) we learn that this story was very popular in England and furnished the materials for a farce at one of the London theatres.

Illumination, or the Sleep-Waker, a tale of clairvoyancy, the first story of Part II, leads us into the region of the mysterious and supernatural. An age which lays exclusive emphasis on the psychical or spiritual element in man's nature is very prone to seek for supernatural manifestations of this mysterious element. Transcendentalism brought a number of fads—such as spiritualism, mesmerism, animal magnetism, etc.—in its wake. A glance at the literature of this period reveals tales of somnambulism, wonderful visions, mysticism, witchcraft, and the like. Many of these stories were translated and published in America, as we have noticed above; and Poe's tales, it may be observed in passing, though infinitely superior in everything that pertains to artistic workmanship, were likewise the children of a transcendental age. Zschokke himself believed that he possessed the power of clairvoyancy, and in his *Verklärungen* (sometimes known as *Hortensia*) he has wandered into the misty region of the supernatural.

That Godwin and his wife were deeply impressed by these

¹As early as 1821 Wilkens, p. 142 and Appendix, 172, cites a translation made by Tobias Watkins in Baltimore, in *Tales of a Tripod; or a Delphian Evening*.

stories appears from the fact that they had already translated the *Verklärungen*, under the title of *The Sleep-Waker*, and published it in Boston in 1842. That Godwin was the translator of this story follows from a book notice in the *Democratic Review* (February, 1843), which states that the *Sleep-Waker* was by the same translator as the *Fool of the Nineteenth Century* (*Democratic Review*, 1842), the text of which is identical with that of the same story in Godwin's collection.

Godwin himself is also responsible for *The Broken Cup*, or, as it is more correctly translated in the 1889 edition, *The Broken Pitcher*, unquestionably the best of Zschokke's humorous pieces. In spite of some lapses from the simple into a literary tone, Godwin has on the whole well preserved the serio-comic character of this story with all its shortness and crispness. It probably deserves to rank as the best of his own translations.

The version of *Jonathan Frock* contained in this collection we owe to Gustave C. Hebbe. This is a story which hinges on the ever present question of Jewish social disability. As a translation it is by far the best in the whole book. Hebbe was evidently a master of both German and English, and his work shows no signs of that struggle with a resisting medium which is so noticeable in many of the others. He is also the translator of *The Princess of Wolfenbüttel*, which was published in the *Omnibus of Modern Romance* (New York, 1844). We hear of him later also as the aspiring author of a *Universal History*. *Jonathan Frock* was one of the popular favorites. In 1846 it appears in Belfast as a contribution to the *Parlor Novelist*, and four years later is to be found in vol. VI of the *People's Journal* (London, 1850).

Fannie Bryant Godwin contributed the next tale, *The Involuntary Journey*. This story, in epistolary form, of the misfortunes of a count who leaves a ball-room in Moscow during the Napoleonic invasion to fetch his sister's pearl

necklace and through the vicissitudes of war is carried off to France and Spain, is one of Zschokke's weakest productions. It was evidently not popular, for I have found no mention of it elsewhere.

The last story of the collection, however, is one which was probably translated oftener than any other. It is *The Vicar of Wiltshire*, and Zschokke's pathetic tale is said to have been occasioned by the same *Journal of a Vicar in Wiltshire*, published in the *British Magazine* (1766), which led Goldsmith to write his *Vicar of Wakefield*. In a note Godwin informs us that his version is based on two previous translations, that of Mrs. Ellet in a New York magazine—I conjecture the *New York Review*—and the Reverend W. H. Furness's translation, which first appeared in *The Gift* (1844), one of those "richly embellished" annuals of the period. This was later incorporated into Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*.

Still another translation by S. A. (Sara Austen) was printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for October, 1843. This version was made in England, if my conjecture as to the translator is correct. The same story turns up again in that collection of Zschokke's tales already mentioned, *Journal of a Poor Vicar, The Walpurgis Night and other Stories* (Philadelphia, 1845), which probably comes from the pen of W. H. Furness. Its immense popularity is further attested by the book announcement of *The Gift* in the *Southern Quarterly Review* for 1844. The writer remarks: "We may mention to the editor, however, that the article from Zschokke, 'The Journal of a Poor Vicar,' though very pleasant reading, has been too frequently translated and republished in this country not to be sufficiently well known to the reader."

In 1889 Godwin was called upon to reëdit a little volume of Zschokke's tales for the "Knickerbocker Nugget" series

which G. P. Putnam's Sons were then publishing. Over forty years had passed since the first edition had been put into the hands of the public. Transcendentalism had completed its task of bridging the chasm between the mechanical theories of the 18th century and the great organic conception of the universe which was destined to control the thinking of the last quarter of the 19th. The all-comprehensive idea of evolution was teaching men that the hope of transforming society otherwise than by the slow process of gradual change was vain. Accordingly Godwin winnowed the chaff from the wheat. He rejected all those stories which smacked of the social reforms and vagaries of transcendentalism, and for the new edition chose only three of the old: *The Adventures of a New Year's Eve*, *The Broken Pitcher*, and *Jonathan Frock*, stories which for their literary merit could be accepted as classics.

To these were added a fourth story, *Walpurgis Night*, translated by William P. Prentice. This study in the uncanny and horrible, which reminds us of Poe or Hoffmann, with its moral lesson on the blessings of a pure heart and sound conscience, was also a popular story. It is to be found in the collection, *Journal of a Poor Vicar*, etc., which has just been mentioned. In 1850 an adaptation of the story, under the title *Phantasies of Walpurgis Night*, was published in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, and still another translation is to be found as late as 1870 in *Temple Bar*. This version was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* for the same year. Mr. Prentice, the translator of the story in Godwin's collection, informs me that his version was made independently of these others. His letter throws still more light on the Zschokke vogue. He himself translated other Zschokke stories which have never been published, and he distinctly remembers that George W. Curtis also turned two or three into English, which likewise were not destined to see

the light of publicity. It is interesting to note in closing that these four stories seem to have found a permanent place in American literature. At the beginning of the 20th century they had been republished as one of the "Ariel Booklets" by the Putnams.

The subsequent history of the *Zschokke Tales* can be briefly told. My researches have brought to light at least a dozen other translations besides those already mentioned. Their history is substantially the same as the foregoing. The dates and places of their publication, with the names of the translators so far as they can be determined, can be seen in the bibliography which will follow this paper as an appendix. By 1850 Zschokke's popularity had begun to wane. Between 1850 and 1860 new editions of the old translations were republished, and one or two new ones added. Since 1860, so far as I am aware, no new editions, except that of Godwin, have appeared.

It would be useless to seek for any great literary significance in the history of Zschokke's *Tales* in America. He was not artist enough to inspire other men with new literary ideals. But his works, conservative and healthy in tone, did serve to increase the taste for good reading among the people, to give popularity to the short story, and to break down popular prejudice against German philosophy and German literature.

In conclusion we must refer to another, and in some respects more important, translation of Godwin's, that of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, published in 1846. This book brings us back to the Brook Farmers again. Only the first five books were done by Godwin. John Henry Hopkins, son of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, was responsible for the second five, while his Brook Farm friends, Charles A. Dana (who had taught German and Greek there) and John S. Dwight, completed the remaining ten books.

This was the first translation of Goethe's autobiography into the English language, for the *Memoirs of Goethe*, which was an English version of a French translation, was so garbled that it is unworthy of the name. This American translation, as H. S. White informs us in his article, *Goethe in America* (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1884), was subsequently sold to Bohn in London, and after revision by Oxenford now holds its place as the standard English version of the great poet's autobiography.

But Godwin's service is not merely to have added a few tales and a celebrated autobiography to the store of English literature. All his life he kept in touch with German literary and philosophic development, and through reviews, essays, and addresses interpreted its significance to his fellow countrymen. Before Emerson's famous essay on Goethe was published (1850), Godwin's critical insight and sense of justice had already assigned to the great poet the place in modern civilization which the world has since accorded him. And in one of his last essays on the *Germans in America* (*Liber Scriptorum* of the Authors' Club, New York, 1893) he pays a noble tribute to German research, German criticism, German philosophy, and German music. The enthusiasm for the ideals which had inspired his youth flashes out again in the opening paragraph of this essay, and with it I shall close this paper: "Goethe means the German race, and as Homer meant Greece, Dante meant the Middle Ages, as Shakespeare meant awakening, world-exploring England, so the German race means the highest aspirations and attainments of the modern world."

JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS.

APPENDIX.

The following bibliography of Zschokke translations is based on a consultation of the following :—

Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana*: Catalogue of American Publications, 1820-1852.

Catalogue of the Library Company, Philadelphia, 1856.

Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.

Printed Catalogues of :

Library of Congress.

Peabody Museum, Baltimore.

Mercantile Library, Philadelphia.

Astor Library, New York.

Lenox Library, New York.

Boston Athenæum.

British Museum.

Also a number of Private Libraries, such as Cambridge, Mass., High School.

Indexes and Book Announcements in :

North American Review, 1820-1851.

Democratic Review, 1835-1852.

American Review, 1845-1851.

Southern Literary Messenger, 1838-1851.

Southern Quarterly Review, 1842-1851.

Metropolitan Magazine, 1836-41.

Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1834, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1844, 1845, 1847.

(A complete file of this magazine could not be found in New York. The volumes consulted belong to Princeton University Library.)

Blackwood's Magazine, up to 1857.

London Quarterly Review, 1830-1850.

People's Journal (London), 1850.

(Only one volume attainable.)

Poole's *Index*: Of value where the title of the story is known.

Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, also of value when the translator is known.

The German titles of the Tales are taken from the First Edition of Goedecke's *Grundriss*, and only the date of the first appearance is given. Goedecke is not particularly full in regard to Zschokke.

An exhaustive bibliography of Zschokke translations would be well-nigh an impossibility at present. If the statements of book reviewers of the time are correct, his stories appeared frequently in weeklies and even dailies. Few of these can now be found, and none of them are indexed.

Indeed, some of the magazines mentioned are now seldom to be found in complete sets. The present bibliography is therefore as complete as the author can hope to make it with the means at his command. English translations have been given because their presence in American Libraries show that these works were also known in America.

1. ARTICLES ON ZSCHOKKE.

- Chamber's *Journal*, Edinburgh, 1845, repeated in *Eclectic Magazine*, 8, 299.
Democratic Review, 1845, by Parke Godwin?
London Quarterly Review, 21, 1.
Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, N. S. 12, 1845.
 A brief account of some instances in the Life of Zschokke, by J. Crawford Woods, Adelaide, Australia, 1863. (British Museum.)

2. GERMAN EDITIONS IN AMERICA.

- Zschokke's Werke: 46 vols. Pap. at 10 and 20 cts. per vol. F. W. Thomas, Philadelphia. No date. For titles of separate volumes see Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.
 Novellen und Dichtungen: 3 vols. F. W. Thomas, Philadelphia. No date.
 Novellen und Dichtungen: 7 Auflage; Aarau und New York. At New York by William Radde. 1845? (Library of Congress.)
 The Same: 11^{te} Vermehrte Ausgabe. In commission bei William Radde. New York. 1859. (Library of Congress.)
 Stunden der Andacht: Kohler, Philadelphia. No date. (See Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
 Der Tote Gast, eine Erzählung. New York, 1839. (Astor Library.)

3. TRANSLATIONS.

- Abëllino, the Bravo of Venice. A *Romance*. (Abëllino der grosse Bandit. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1794.) Translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. London, 1805, 1809 (6th ed.), 1830, 1856, 1857. (British Museum.)
 The Same: Boston, 1840, Boston Public Library.
 Abëllino, the Great Bandit. A grand dramatic Romance in Five Acts. (Abëllino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel nach der Geschichte dieses Namens, Frankfurt a. d. O. 1795.) Translated from the German and adapted to the New York theatre by

- William Dunlap, Esq., 1800. 4th Edition. New York, 1820, published by Thomas Longworth, 16°. (Lenox Library.)
- Abellino, the Venetian Outlaw. A drama translated from the French. London? 1805, 1806, 1820. (British Museum.)
- Adventures of a New Year's Night. (Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht in Die Erheiterungen for 1818.) *Blackwood's Magazine*, May, 1837.
- The Same : Foregoing revised in Zschokke's Tales by Parke Godwin. New York, 1845. Wiley and Putnam. Zschokke's Tales, 1889 and [1900]. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Alamontade or the Galley Slave. (Alamontade der Galeeren-Slave. Zürich, 1802.) In Tales from the German, by J. Oxenford and C. A. Feeling [London, 1844]. (British Museum.)
- According to Goedecke's *Grundriss*, translated in London in 1827.
- The Same : translated from the 45th Edition by Jno. T. Sullivan, Philadelphia, 1845. (Catalogued in the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1856.)
- Autobiography : (Selbstschau, Aarau, 1842). London, 1845. 33rd Part of "Foreign Library." Chapman and Hall. (Library of Congress.)
- The Bean : (Die Bohne, eine Erzählungen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1811.) *Metropolitan Magazine*, London and New York (July), 1838.
- The Same : in Walpurgis Night, Journal of a Poor Vicar, and other stories, [by W. H. Furness], Philadelphia, 1845.
- The Broken Cup : See the Broken Pitcher.
- The Broken Pitcher : (Der zerbrochene Krug, in Die Erheiterungen, 1813) translated by Parke Godwin in Zschokke's Tales, New York, 1845. Wiley and Putnam. Also in Tales by Zschokke, by P. G., 1889 (G. P. Putnam's Sons : Knickerbocker Nugget Series.) Reprinted as Ariel Booklet [1900].
- The Canary Bird : See Story of Fritz, the bird catcher.
- The Creole : (Der Creole. Eine Erzählung, Aarau, 1830) published by W. H. Colyer, New York, 1836. (Cited by Roorbach.)
- The Dead Guest : (Der tote Gast, cited by Goedecke first in vol. XVIII of Sämmtliche Ausgewählte Schriften, Aarau, 1824-28). Published by Radde, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- The Same : translated by G. C. McWhorter. D. Appleton & Co., New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV. (Florette oder die erste Liebe Heinrichs IV, Die Erheiterungen, 1818, L. Weber unterzeichnet) translated from the German of Henry Zschokke by G. F. Struve. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1843.

- The Same : translated by Parke Godwin, in *Zschokke's Tales*, New York, 1845.
- The Same : in *Parlor Novelist*, vol. 10. Belfast, 1846. (Probably Godwin's or Struve's Translation.)
- Florian, the Fugitive of the Jura (*Der Flüchtling im Jura*, 1824, in *Bilder aus der Schweiz*, Aarau, 1824-26) in *Miss M. M. Montgomery's Lights and Shadows of German Life*. London and Philadelphia, 1833.
- The Same : in *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps*. Translated by L. Strack, 12°, New York, 1844. (Boston Athenæum.) Reprinted in 1845 under the title : *A Fool of the Nineteenth Century*, and other stories.
- A Fool of the Nineteenth Century (*Ein Narr des 19^{ten} Jahrhunderts*, in *Rheinisches Taschenbuch*, 1822), translated by [Parke Godwin] in *Democratic Review*, October, 1842.
- The Same : the foregoing in *Zschokke's Tales* by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- The Same : *Oliver Flyeln*, a Fool of the Nineteenth Century, in *Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps*, translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- A Fool of the Nineteenth Century and other stories, New York, 1845. See *Incidents of Social Life*, etc.
- The Free Court of Aarau ; see *Veronica*.
- Fritz, the Bird Catcher ; see *Story of Fritz, the Bird Catcher*.
- The Galley Slave ; see *Alamontade*.
- Goldenthal : (*Das Goldmachedorf*, Aarau, 1817) a tale translated from the German. London, 1833. (British Museum.)
- Goldmaker's Village, translated from the German. Burns, London, 1845. (British Museum.)
- The Same : G. S. Appleton, Philadelphia, 1845. (Roorbach.)
- The Same : in *Chamber's Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts*, Edinburgh and London. No date. (Catalogue of Cambridge, Mass., High School.)
- Harmonius : (*Harmonius*, in *Vignetten*, Basel, 1801) translated by Christopher Pearse Cranch in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French. (Not cited by Goedecke.) London, 1803. (Library of Congress.)
- (Popular) History of Switzerland (*Des Schweizerlands Geschichten für das Schweizervolk*, Aarau, 1822, 5^{te} Aufl., 1834). From the German with the author's subsequent alterations of the original work. Translated by [W. H. Howe]. Frankfurt a. M. 1833.
- (Popular) History of Switzerland : Boston, 1834. (Library of Congress.)

- The Same : with a continuation to the year 1848, by F. G. Shaw, New York, 1855. Reprinted 1875. (Library of Congress.)
- The Same : Mason, Boston. (No date.) (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- Hortensia : (Die Verklärungen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1814).
Also called : Illumination or the Sleep-Waker, a tale from the German translated by [Parke Godwin and Fanny Bryant Godwin].
Monroe & Co., Boston, 1842.
- The Same : in Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps, translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- The Same : under title : Illumination or the Sleep-Waker in Zschokke's Tales, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- The Same : Published by J. Winchester, New York (before 1852). Roorbach.
- The Same : under title, Hortensia or the Transfigurations, in A. J. Davis' *Memoranda*, 1868. (Astor Library.)
- Hours of Devotion : (Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung, 1-8 Jahrgang, Aarau, 1809-1816) translated by Morris Mattson. 2nd American from the 13th German Edition. Philadelphia, Kay and Brother, 1835.
- The Same : translated by Burrows. London, 1838. (Library of Congress.)
- Hours of Meditation and Devotional Reflection : translated from the German by J. D. Haas, London, 1843, 1847. Reprinted, London and Manchester, 1863.
- Hours of Meditation and Reflection : Haas's translation. J. S. Redfield, New York, 1844.
- Illumination : see Hortensia.
- Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps. Translated by L. Strack, New York, 1844. Contains
Florian, the Fugitive of the Jura.
Oliver Flyeln, A Fool of the Nineteenth Century.
Hortensia.
- The Same : reprinted in New York, 1845, under the title : A Fool of the Nineteenth Century and other stories. Translated by L. Strack.
- The Involuntary Journey (Die Reise wider Willen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1814). Translated by Fanny Bryant Godwin, in Zschokke's Tales, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.
- It is very Possible. (Es ist sehr möglich, in Die Erheiterungen, 1817. L. Weber unterzeichnet) translated in Miss M. M. Montgomery's Lights and Shadows of German Life. London and Philadelphia, 1833.

Jack Steam, the busy-body: (Hans Dampf in allen Gassen, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1814) in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845.

Jonathan Frock: (Jonathan Frock, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1816) translated by Gustav C. Hebbe, in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845, 1889, 1900.

The Same: translated from the German, in *Parlor Novelist*. Vol. 10. Belfast, 1846-47.

The Same: in *People's Journal*. Vol. 6. London, 1846-51.

Journal of a Poor Vicar: see *Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire*.

Julius: (Julius, oder die zwei Gefangenen, in *Genfer Novellen*, nach dem französischen, von R. Töpffer, Aarau, 1839) in *Julius and other Tales*, translated from the German by W. H. Furness, Philadelphia, 1856.

The Walpurgis Night, *Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Bean, Julius, and other tales from the German*. [London], 1856. (British Museum.)

Labor stands on Golden Feet: (Meister Jordan, oder Handwerk hat goldnen Boden, Aarau, 1848) translated by J. Yeats Cassell, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)

The Same: London, 1852. 3rd Ed., 1870. (British Museum.)

The Lace Maker of Namur: (Der Blondin von Namur (?), in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1813.)

According to Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, 1845, p. 436, this story appeared in England about 1845.

Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire. A Fragment: (Das Neujahrsgeſchenk aus dem Tagebuch des Armen Pfarr-Vikars von Wiltshire, in *Die Erheiterungen*, 1819) translated by S. A. (Sara Austen) from the German. *Southern Literary Messenger*, October, 1843.

Journal of a Poor Vicar: translated by W. H. Furness in *The Gift*. Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1844.

The Same: by W. H. Furness in *Hedge's Prose Writers of Germany*, Philadelphia, 1845.

The Same: in the *Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Walpurgis Night and other stories* (by W. H. Furness?) Philadelphia, 1845.

The Same: in *The Walpurgis Night, Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Bean, Julius, and other tales from the German*. London, 1856. (British Museum.)

The Same: An Abridgment, in *Chamber's Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*. London, circa 1845.

Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar in Wiltshire: in *Zschokke's Tales*, by Parke Godwin, New York, 1845. (Godwin informs us that

- his translation is based on W. H. Furness's and one by Mrs. Ellet, which appeared in a New York monthly magazine.)
- Journal of a Poor Vicar : published by J. S. Taylor, New York, 1852. (Roorbach.)
- Lights and Shadows of German Life, by Miss M. M. Montgomery, London and Philadelphia, 1833. Contains
The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace.
The Fugitive of the Jura.
It is very Possible.
- Lover's Stratagem and other tales : (Wie man lieben muss, or Eros) published by Linton, London, 1848. (Library of Congress and British Museum.)
- Marble and Conrad : (? ?) in Incidents of Social Life amid the European Alps, by L. Strack, New York, 1844.
- Meditations on Death and Eternity : translated by F. Rowan, London, 1862, 1863. (Boston Athenæum.) See Hours of Devotion and Meditation.
- The Military Campaigns of a Man of Peace : (Kriegerische Abenteuer eines Friedfertigen, in Die Erheiterungen, 1811) in Miss M. M. Montgomery's Lights and Shadows of German Life. Philadelphia, 1833.
- New Year's Eve : see Adventures of a New Year's Eve.
- Oliver Flyeln : see A Fool of the Nineteenth Century.
- Phantasies of Walpurgis Night : see Walpurgis Night.
- The Present State of Christianity : (Darstellung gegenwärtiger Ausbreitung des Christenthums auf dem Erdball, Aarau, 1819) founded on a work by J. H. D. Z., London, 1828. (British Museum.)
- The Prime Minister (?) : published by J. Winchester, New York, before 1852. (Roorbach.)
- The Princess of Wolfenbüttel : (Die Prinzessin von Wolfenbüttel, Zürich, 1804, 1810) translated from the German by G. C. Hebbe, in Omnibus of Modern Romance, New York, 1844. (Astor Library.)
- A Psalm : (Sehnsucht nach dem Schauen des Unsichtbaren, Ein Psalm, Die Erheiterungen, 1819) translated by C. T. Brooks, in *Christian Examtner*, 1851.
- Reactions : see Who Governs then?
- On the Religious, Moral and Social Duties of Life (see Hours of Devotion) : translated from the German by J. D. Haas, published by J. S. Redfield, New York, 1844.
- Rose of Disentis : (Die Rose von Disentis, in Aahrenlese, Aarau, 1844) published by Sheldon, New York. (Catalogue of American Publications, 1876.)
- The Rum Plague, a narrative for the admonition of both old and young : (Die Brautweinpest, Eine Trauergeschichte zur Warnung und

Lehre für Reich und Arm, Alt und Jung, Aarau, 1837, 1838, 1842) published by J. S. Taylor, New York, 1853. (Roorbach.)

The Sleep-Waker : see Hortensia.

Story of Fritz, the Bird-catcher and his Canary (? ?): in Chamber's Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts, vol. VI, London. (Catalogue of Cambridge, Mass., High School.)

The Canary Bird and other Tales, originally German, translated from the French. R. Donahue, Philadelphia, 1836.

Stray Leaves from the German, or Select Essays from Zschokke, translated by W. B. Flower and E. F. S., Knutsford (Printed), 1845. (British Museum.)

Tales from the German of Heinrich Zschokke by Parke Godwin : New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

Part I contains :

Fool of the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Parke Godwin.

Harmonius. Translated by C. P. Cranch.

Jack Steam.

Floretta, or the First Love of Henry IV. By Parke Godwin.

Adventures of a New Year's Eve. (From *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1837.)

Part II :

Illumination ; or the Sleep Waker. By Fanny Bryant Godwin and Parke Godwin. (See Hortensia.)

The Broken Cup (Pitcher). By Parke Godwin.

Jonathan Frock. By Gustav C. Hebbe.

The Involuntary Journey. By Fanny Bryant Godwin.

Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar in Wiltshire. (Based on W. H. Furness', and Mrs. Ellet's translations of the same.)

Tales by Heinrich Zschokke : A selection from the foregoing and one additional tale. By Parke Godwin. New York, 1889, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Knickerbocker Nugget Series.

Contains : Adventures of a New Year's Eve, The Broken Pitcher, Jonathan Frock, and Walpurgis Night, translated by William P. Prentice.

The Same : Reprint of the foregoing. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York [1900], in Ariel Booklets.

Veronica ; or the Free Court of Aarau. (Der Freihof von Aarau, in Vols. 25, 26, 27, of *Sämmt. ausgewählte Schriften*, Aarau, 1826-28). Translated from the German of Zschokke by the author of *Giafar al Barmeki* (i. e. Samuel Gardiner Spring, Jr.), New York, 1845. Harper & Bros. Library of Select Novels.

The Same : in *Parlor Novelist*, vol. XIV, Belfast, 1846-47.

Vicar of Wiltshire : see *Leaves from the Diary of a Poor Vicar of Wiltshire*.

Village Mayor : (??) according to the Cambridge High School Catalogue in Chamber's Miscellany of Interesting and Entertaining Tracts, vol. vi.

Walpurgis Night : (Die Walpurgis Nacht, in Die Erheiterungen, 1812) in The Journal of a Poor Vicar, the Walpurgis Night and other Stories. W. H. Furness (?) Philadelphia, 1845. (Library of Congress.)

The Same : in The Walpurgis Night, Leaves from the Journal of a Poor Vicar, The Bean, Julius and other Stories from the German. [London.] 1856. (British Museum.)

The same : translated by William P. Prentice in Tales by Heinrich Zschokke. By Parke Godwin, 1889 (Knickerbocker Nuggets) and [1900] Ariel Booklets. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Phantasies of Walpurgis Night : (H. Zschokke) Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, N. S. 17, 1850.

Walpurgis Night : in *Temple Bar* 28, 370, 1870, and reprinted *Eclectic Magazine*, 41, 516.

Who Governs Then? A Tale of the Court of Louis XV : (Rückwirkungen oder : Wer regiert denn? in vol. xx of *Sämmt. ausgewählte Schriften*, Aarau, 1824-28) translated by Parke Godwin (?) in *Democratic Review*, 1840.

Reactions, or Who Governs Then? in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* before 1845. (Acc. to article on Zschokke in this Magazine for 1845.)